

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00
PM-03 DODE-00 SP-02 PRS-01 /039 W
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R 211746Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4951
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 01305

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, FR, WB, GE, US
SUBJECT: SPANGENBERG AND MORGENSTERN: WEST GERMAN
ORGANIZATION ON INNER-GERMAN AFFAIRS

REF: USBER 0121

BEGIN SUMMARY: WE CONCUR WITH USBER'S ASSESSMENT THAT
SPANGENBERG'S NEW APPOINTMENT AS STATE SECRETARY IN THE
MINISTRY FOR INNER-GERMAN AFFAIRS WAS DESIGNED TO
STRENGTHEN THE CHANCELLOR'S CONTROL OVER ALL-GERMAN
POLICY. AS WE HAVE REPORTED EARLIER, THE FRG IS RIFE
WITH POLICY AND PERSONNEL DISPUTES REGARDING INNER-
GERMAN AFFAIRS. SPANGENBERG'S APPOINTMENT WILL NOT EASE
THOSE TENSIONS, THOUGH IT OFFERS THE CHANCELLOR A
SLIGHTLY STRONGER BUREAUCRATIC ARRANGEMENT. FROM OUR
STANDPOINT, WE WILL NEED CONTINUALLY TO INSIST ON
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ADEQUATE INFORMATION. END SUMMARY

1. THE APPOINTMENT OF SPANGENBERG TO THE MINISTRY FOR
INNER-GERMAN AFFAIRS WAS A DEFT TRICK: TO NEUTRALIZE
AN ORGANIZATION BY APPOINTING SOMEBODY INTO IT. THIS
IS PRECISELY WHAT SCHMIDT HAS ATTEMPTED TO DO. FROM NOW
ON, HE CAN CLAIM THAT THE MINISTRY IS INVOLVED IN ANY

INNER-GERMAN MATTER ON WHICH SPANGENBERG IS CONSULTED, EVEN IF NOBODY ELSE IN THE MINISTRY KNOWS ABOUT IT. SCHMIDT CAN ALSO BE REASONABLY CONFIDENT THAT SPANGENBERG WILL ACT ON HIS (SCHMIDT'S) INSTRUCTIONS AND NOT ON MINISTER FRANKE'S. SCHMIDT DID NOT, HOWEVER, ACHIEVE HIS ORIGINAL PURPOSE OF ABOLISHING FRANKE'S MINISTRY AND TRANSFERRING ITS FUNCTIONS TO THE CHANCELLERY.

2. WE HAVE HEARD RUMORS THAT SCHMIDT MAY CONTINUE HIS DRIVE TO CENTRALIZE INNER-GERMAN AFFAIRS UNDER THE CHANCELLERY BY APPOINTING EUGEN SELBMANN, A CONFIDANT OF WEHNER'S, TO THE CHANCELLERY, THOUGH THIS MAY BE COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE TO GENSCHER.

3. MORGENSTERN HAS TOLD US THAT HE WAS FIRED PRIMARILY BECAUSE SCHMIDT KNEW THAT MORGENSTERN WANTED TO EXPAND THE POWER OF THE INNER-GERMAN MINISTRY, THOUGH IT MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN BECAUSE HE WANTED TO TOUGHEN FRG POLICY TOWARD THE GDR. MORGENSTERN SAID THAT HE WAS AN OLD FRIEND OF SCHMIDT'S AND THAT HE CUSTOMARILY SENT THE CHANCELLOR COPIES OF HIS RECOMMENDATIONS ALONG THESE LINES TO FRANKE. THEREFORE, SCHMIDT HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO DISPOSE OF MORGENSTERN IF HE WISHED TO NEUTRALIZE THE MINISTRY OR TO DOWNGRADE ITS ROLE.

4. THE COMBINATION OF WISCHNEWSKI'S, SPANGENBERG'S, AND POSSIBLY SELBMANN'S APPOINTMENTS SHOULD GIVE THE CHANCELLOR MORE CONTROL OF POLICY TOWARD THE GDR THAN HE HAD ONLY A FEW MONTHS AGO, THOUGH STILL NOT A FREE
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HAND. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THIS WAS A PYRRHIC AS WELL AS INCOMPLETE VICTORY. A LOT OF BLOOD, INCLUDING SOME OF GENSCHER'S, MUST BE ON THE FLOOR. MOREOVER, THE CONSIDERABLE EXPERTISE OF MANY INNER-GERMAN MINISTRY OFFICIALS (WHO PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN PAST FRG-GDR AGREEMENTS) WILL BE LOST TO THE POLICY PROCESS IF SPANGENBERG CANNOT USE THEM. LAST BUT NOT LEAST, SCHMIDT WILL HAVE IRRITATED FRANKE, AN IMPORTANT FIGURE IN THE CONSERVATIVE WING OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, THOUGH NOT TO THE SAME EXTENT AS IF HE HAD ABOLISHED THE MINISTRY.

5. EVEN THE ARRANGEMENT THAT SCHMIDT HAS NOW MADE FOR AN INFORMAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE (REFTEL) MAY NOT WORK SMOOTHLY. WISCHNEWSKI, SPANGENBERG, STOBBE AND GAUS DO NOT AGREE ON ALL ASPECTS OF INNER-GERMAN POLICY. VAN WELL, WHO WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE GENSCHER'S MAN ON THIS COUNCIL, WILL BE INSTRUCTED TO PURSUE A FIRM LINE AND TO BRIEF GENSCHER FULLY ON SCHMIDT'S PLANS. THOUGH VAN

WELL'S LOYALTIES MAY NOT ALWAYS REMAIN WITH GENSCHER,

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THE FOREIGN MINISTER MAY HAVE INSISTED ON THE PRESENCE
OF A SENIOR FOREIGN OFFICE REPRESENTATIVE IN ORDER TO
MAINTAIN THE VETO THAT HE REGARDS AS ESSENTIAL. THE
GROUP, OR A GROUP OF ROUGHLY SIMILAR COMPOSITION, MET
ON TUESDAY OF THIS WEEK TO DRAFT THE INNER-GERMAN SECTION
OF THE CHANCELLOR'S SPEECH, BUT DID NOT HAVE THE CHANCE
TO DEAL WITH OTHER MATTERS.

6. ONE CANNOT HELP BUT DESCRIBE ALL THIS AS AN UNNEAT
ARRANGEMENT. THE CHANCELLERY WILL BE TRYING TO MAKE
POLICY IN AN EXTREMELY SENSITIVE AREA BY IGNORING ONE
INTERESTED MINISTRY AND ATTEMPTING TO CIRCUMVENT ANOTHER.
COORDINATION WILL BE AT BEST IMPERFECT, AND SOME
POLITICAL FIGURES, INCLUDING THE CHANCELLOR, WILL BE
TEMPTED TO TRY INFORMAL CHANNELS.

7. SINCE THERE ARE MANY SENSITIVE AMERICAN INTERESTS
INVOLVED, PARTICULARLY THOSE RELATED TO BERLIN, WE WILL
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TRY TO MONITOR FRG ACTIONS AND POLICIES IN THIS AREA
CLOSELY. WE WOULD HOPE TO DO IT THROUGH THE REGULAR
BONN GROUP MECHANISM AS WELL AS IN BILATERAL CONTACTS
WITH OTHER OFFICES INVOLVED.
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